

COSMO!

queer!

Pride Issue!

**Celebrities who
play it straight:
Who's the Best Actor?**

Marry me?

*Who's saying I don't...
and why*



Inside the Gay Agenda

**Quiz: what kind
of gay are you?**

REVOLUTION

WORLD PREMIERE

Where is the liberation in gay liberation?

I wonder what the turning point was?

We've gone from ideas of liberation to policing.

So what if my girlfriend has a dick
so what if I fuck more than one person at a time
so what if I listen to frank Sinatra while we do it
so what if my gender has more names than you have pet
peeves
so what if I want to kiss on the train
so what if we don't fit into your day dream -- queers don't
hold 9 to 5 jobs, queers get tied to beds, queers fight to stay in
this country, queers get beat by cops, queers get locked up,
queers stay locked up, queers don't dress like mommy
dearest, queers can't keep a job cause we never use the "right"
bathroom, queers go without food, queers get jumped at
school...

queerfolk

when did we turn in this direction -- from the right to exist to
the right to earn top bracket incomes? I'd like to see a sea of
naked queers storming the APA to overturn the Harry
Benjamin standards. Not these days, no way. I'd like to see a
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holding high signs reading "queer reality ignored: racism,
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REAL ESTATE

IN NEW JERSEY

Welcome To
TheGayborhood

we have turned into our worst nightmare. I know that even Sylvia Rivera was a witness to that -- back in '73 screaming on that stage:

"and what about me, what about my people? We were there beginning this movement, and now there's no place for us?!"

shame on us.
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"You know, I'd still like to do a whole lot more for the movement, but the movement just doesn't want to deal with me."

**THE RIGHT
TO MARRY
is JUST LOVE**

the wedding party

QUEER
STARTS HERE



Dear Carson,

I'm a straight but not narrow person of the male sex — oops, I mean gender, and I'm deeply in love with a person who happens to be of the opposite sex. She has been dropping hints about tying the knot, you know, making it legal, taking the plunge, making an honest woman of her...you get the point. I noticed lately that she goes off and sulks after sex and I'll find her in the living room reading a copy of *Modern Bride* that she had hidden under the Pottery Barn catalog. Last night this happened and I went over to her and put my hand on her shoulder and said, "Barbara, I sense a tense vibration coming from you lately. What's wrong, sweetheart?" My special-someone proceeded to give me a two hour speech about how much she wants to be my life partner—in wedlock! I gave her a soft, lingering kiss and hugged her throughout the rest of the night, murmuring my undying love for her. But, Carson, the thing is, there's this homosexual person, Adam, who serves the complimentary espresso drinks in my company's reception area. I heard that he is also deeply in love with *his* sweetie-pie, Steve. Then I read in the newspaper that same sex life partners cannot legally marry! That means that Adam and his buttercup can never marry—and they'll never be normal! Marriage is the ultimate goal that we all aspire to, just like owning a second home or being C.E.O. of your own Fortune 500 company. If gay marriage were legal, I wouldn't have to feel so guilty walking down the aisle with my half-and-chain-to-be (just kidding, Barbara!). How can I do more to support gay marriage?

— Hoping to be a Hobby

A: Put down that Starbucks latte grande and listen up. Adam and Steve might not want any part of your knee-assed, Hamptons weekend "normalcy." Did you pick up that vibration, sensitive-man? If you feel guilty, don't fucking get married. But don't skip it just for Adam and Steve's sakes. Skip it because it's an exclusionary, capitalist institution based on antiquated, sex-negative ideas of what's okay and what's not okay. Do you want legal protections just for married couples or for everyone? Nevermind, I don't want to know.



Dear Carson,

Hey. What's up? Look, I totally HATE Bush — and the capitalist AmeriKKkan U.S. system — more than anyone else, right? But something happened at one of my weekly activist meetings that's making me scratch my head in wonder, and I thought maybe you could shed some light, Carson. As a politically conscious, caucasian, heterosexual man, I totally support diversity. So every time someone comes to a meeting that I don't know, I make a point of going up to them and telling them it's great that they're there. One time, there was this new person in the back, and I noticed her hand was up. As the facilitator, I called on her, saying "Yes, there's a question from the young woman in the back?" She introduced herself as Dave and replied that she wasn't a young woman at all. Then she never came back to another meeting. What's the deal? Is she just not a true revolutionary?

— Bu\$h Hater

A: I've received so many letters just like yours, from other well-intentioned yet clueless anarchist straight white dudes. What's the deal, my hapless hetero? I'll tell you. Referring to folks you don't know by what you assume their gender is is reckless, pointless, and it's gonna piss people off. If you want queers and trannies to be part of your meetings, do things like de-gender your bathrooms, don't use "he" or "she," and don't have meetings in buildings that require legal ID. And if you want them to be part of your actions, discuss safety and solidarity issues beforehand — such as whether there should be some kind of buddy-system to try to prevent trannies from getting sent to jail alone. Or, once under arrest, whether they would rather be placed in the men's or women's cells, and how they would like legal support to advocate for them. Keep in mind that people may make decisions for strategic reasons. Always remember the golden rule of working with queers and trannies: never assume anyone's identity!

Dear Carson,

I've been watching TV shows like *Will and Grace*, and being queer looks really cool, I mean fabulous! How can I be part of the fun, but still hang on to the perks of being straight?

—Gay-Style Straight

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Quiz: What Kind of Gay (or Ally) Are You?

**So you think you've got the gay issues figured out?
Take the following quiz about queers facing tough
times to find out what kind of politics you really have:**

1. A----- is sick and needs to go to the doctor, but doesn't have health insurance. Should she be able to go to the doctor?
 - a. Tough luck, if she doesn't have a job, she doesn't deserve health insurance.
 - b. Yes, if she has a domestic partner who has a job with benefits. If so, those benefits should be extended to her.
 - c. Of course! Health care is a basic right!

2. S----- was arrested for prostitution and is now serving time in jail. Should the gay rights movement be concerned about this situation?
 - a. Who cares if S----- is gay? All prostitutes should be arrested!
 - b. No, highlighting issues like sex work and arrest rates gives the gay community a bad image.
 - c. Yes, the criminal justice system is inherently violent and disproportionately affects people of color and poor people, who are often punished for committing "survival crimes." The queer community should be building coalitions with other social justice movements concerned with racial profiling, police brutality, and economic justice.

3. U---- receives public assistance, but receives fewer benefits than many other folks because she has not complied with the "marriage incentives" built into the system to encourage "welfare mothers" to tie the knot. U---- has a female partner. Your response is:

- a. U---- is a freeloader who should find herself a man.
- b. If gay marriage were legal, she wouldn't have this problem.
- c. Public assistance should be available to anyone in need, and should not include coercive and paternalistic incentive programs.

4. C----- needs a place to live, but is down on her luck and doesn't have money for an apartment. Should she be able to get a place?

- a. No way. Landlords have to make a living, too!
- b. Only if she has a partner with an apartment. Then she can live there or have her partner pass the apartment on to her.
- c. No one should be without a home. Shelter is a fundamental human right.

5. Well, the apartment thing didn't work out so swell, and now C----- is on the street. She wants to access a shelter, but knows she'll but put in a men's shelter because she's transgender. Should she be given access to a woman's shelter?

- a. Hell no! Folks are lucky to get any shelter at all, who are they to be picky?!
- b. Only if she passes as a woman, has had genital surgery, and no "real" woman has a problem with her being there.
- c. She should be able to stay in whatever shelter feels most safe to her. And why do we think that gender segregation will make us safe, anyway?

6. T----- is a young person who attended a public school. He was harassed at school regularly for being gay, and didn't feel like he was learning much there anyway, so he decided to drop out. Your response is:

- a. Kids these days are soft and don't want to work hard at anything!
- b. We should work hard to stop harassment on the basis of sexual orientation in schools. Good ways to do this are to organize gay-straight alliances and to fight for the inclusion of gay youth in positive organizations like the Boy Scouts.
- c. Schools should be safe and free from harassment for all students. One good place to start is to fight for adequate funding for all public schools—which means their funding should not be based on property taxes—so that schools have the resources they need to stop harassment and accommodate different styles of learning.

7. X----- wants to visit his partner in the hospital, but hospital rules only allow for family visits. Should the hospital let him in?

- a. No, you let in one, and suddenly hospitals will be overflowing with queers...
- b. Yes, if they have a long-term monogamous relationship. Again, gay marriage would solve all our problems.
- c. Yes, hospitals should respect patient wishes and recognize all kinds of caring, supportive relationships. No one is served by defining family in a narrow way.

8. M----- is a gender transgressive person who is regularly questioned or kicked out of public bathrooms. Your response is:

- a. I don't want M----- in my bathroom!
- b. Well, this is a difficult issue...
- c. Public restrooms should not be gendered. Everyone needs to be able to safely access bathrooms!

If you answered "A" most often: You are a cold-hearted Republican who will probably rot in hell.

If you answered "B" most often: So, you're down with gay rights—provided the gays in question aren't facing any other forms of oppression—but what about those who are? The problem here is that you've bought into the "gay agenda" put forth by mainstream groups. That agenda has been formulated by gays who are overwhelmingly white and middle class, and, as a result, reflects the issues that white middle-class gays face: marriage, the right to pass our health insurance and homes on to each other, and discrimination at our jobs. Other issues—like the inability to find a job, rent a place to live, or walk down the street without being harassed by the cops—have been overlooked and sometimes outright opposed. The fact is, otherwise privileged queers can fight their way into the current system of power and privilege, but that won't do anything to disrupt the system itself. We need to be expanding our analysis to include issues of racial and economic justice, and to be taking leadership from the people who experience the most oppression. Don't let your commitment to gay rights eclipse your ability to see the bigger picture!

If you answered "C" most often: Keep up the good work! You've figured out that social justice is not just about gay rights, but about broadly based social change. That said, we all have a lot of work to do to further our analyses and build effective coalitions. So get out there and start organizing!



The New Gay Agenda

This Agenda is based on the reality that queer people exist in places never seen or heard from. We are not all Fortune 500 CEOs, white, gay-married, able-bodied, straight-gendered, citizens of the U.S.

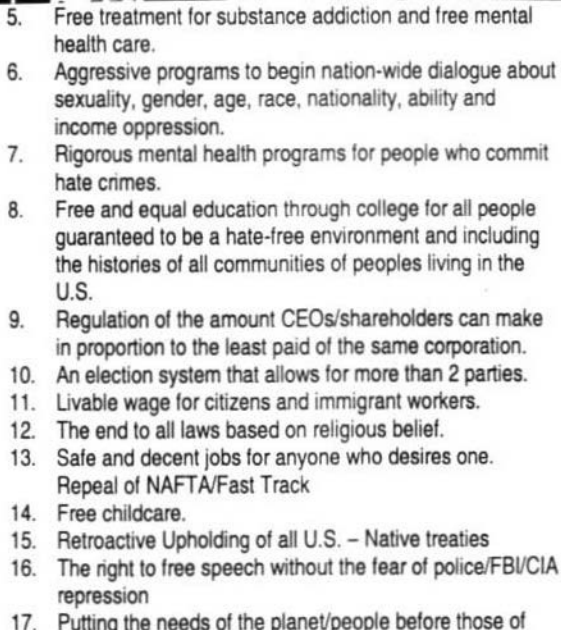
Many of our people are:

Poor, homeless, jobless, children, incarcerated, drug addicted, intersexed, disabled, Afghani, high school drop outs, Native American, women, single mothers, HIV +, fighting breast cancer, victims of police brutality...

With this in mind the modern Movement for queer liberation should include ALL of our people.

1. The abolition of social/state control of consenting relationships.
2. Universal health care including access to hormones, and gender-related surgeries. And an end to state/medical gender determination.
3. Abolition of prisons as a form of social control human warehousing. Repeal the section of the 13th amendment that allows for the continuation of slavery.
4. Housing for all people and healthy fresh food for all people.



- 
5. Free treatment for substance addiction and free mental health care.
 6. Aggressive programs to begin nation-wide dialogue about sexuality, gender, age, race, nationality, ability and income oppression.
 7. Rigorous mental health programs for people who commit hate crimes.
 8. Free and equal education through college for all people guaranteed to be a hate-free environment and including the histories of all communities of peoples living in the U.S.
 9. Regulation of the amount CEOs/shareholders can make in proportion to the least paid of the same corporation.
 10. An election system that allows for more than 2 parties.
 11. Livable wage for citizens and immigrant workers.
 12. The end to all laws based on religious belief.
 13. Safe and decent jobs for anyone who desires one.
Repeal of NAFTA/Fast Track
 14. Free childcare.
 15. Retroactive Upholding of all U.S. – Native treaties
 16. The right to free speech without the fear of police/FBI/CIA repression
 17. Putting the needs of the planet/people before those of corporations
 18. Fair and equal taxation.
 19. Fullest possible enforcement of the Americans with Disabilities Act.
 20. End of U.S. Imperial efforts and U.S. funding of other imperial or colonial causes.



Can we afford to be normal?

GAY

HETERONORMATIVITY.
FALL INTO THE TRAP



From the heart



One reader's gay marriage dilemma



As a queer person who personally does not wish to ever get married and who politically is opposed to state regulation of families and sexual relationships, Bush's current campaign puts me in something of an awkward position. How can I help organize to oppose his planned amendment while also maintaining my own critique of and position on marriage? I recognize that people support marriage for a lot of different reasons and that people wish to get married for lots of reasons - including symbolic, emotional and material reasons. I want to think about marriage at a systemic level, not at a level of individual experience and benefits. I realize this means talking in terms that don't always account for how wide the range of experiences might be, but that systemic focus is important and is more complex than a lot of media coverage of this issue suggests.

We should remember that queer and trans people do not only face oppression in terms of gender and sexuality, but along other lines as well. The ability to access some of the very important material privileges of marriage would not be the same for all people. So for example: A working class gay person who has a job without health coverage will not be able to extend their nonexistent benefits to their new gay spouse. Gay people of color in prison will still lose custody rights to their children. Queer immigrants, particularly those whose sex lives do not fit the model of marriage (for example, non-monogamous queers), will still be subjected to anti-immigrant violence, laws, and deportation. Trans parents will still have their children taken away by judges who think trans homes are inappropriate and unsafe.



WHEN THEY CAME FOR
THE JEWS, I SAID NOTHING
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THE GAYS, I SAID NOTHING
AND WHEN THEY CAME
FOR ME, THERE WAS NO ONE
LEFT TO SAY ANYTHING

THE JEWS, I SAID NOTHING
THE GAYS, I SAID NOTHING
FOR ME, THERE WAS NO ONE

G

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST
IN NAZI GERMANY

So, putting aside Bush's ban, and thinking about advocating for gay marriage, I want to ask if concerns like hospital visitation rights, healthcare, and custody are best secured through marriage or if other political battles – for universal healthcare for example – would be a more effective front. Because aside from the wide range of people who might seek out same sex marriages, I think that we will see that gay marriage will primarily benefit the same people that straight marriage benefits – those will property to protect and economic entitlements to share. This is not to say that other individuals will not seek gay marriage or benefit from it. But I'd argue that those benefits are secondary, and that systemically, the strengthening of things like inheritance laws (for example) is bad for low-income populations. When we say "I know there are problems with marriage, or I know gay marriage won't fix everything, but it's what we



can do right now," I worry that we are justifying the gains of racially and economically privileged people at the costs of a broad spectrum poor people, people of color, immigrants and their political struggles. As a white queer, I feel a responsibility to reject political gains that I can access through privilege. I also worry that if I decide that a battle like this is practical in the short term, and that today universal healthcare is impractical, wishful thinking and a battle that belongs to the future – well, if that day is always only in the future, it will never come.

So part of my concern is: how do we determine what is a legitimate and supported lgbtq movement? And who gets left out of those movements? It is obviously imperative that we organize against Bush's marriage plans. I hope that we can find ways of doing so that allow for the diversity of political



opinions about gay marriage. So we don't wind up arguing that to be anti-Bush we must be pro-marriage. I think this requires developing a politics that sees the importance of legal battles such as this one and also sees the costs of a liberal model of politics represented in this fight. Centering anti-racism, anti-capitalism and feminism in queer politics means that all the issues addressed in other panels today – the patriot act, reproductive rights, unions – are queer issues. It also means being cognizant of the fact that current movements that advocate gay marriage take place in a context in which institutions of white supremacy and capitalism play an enormous role in determining political agendas and controlling resources. What if everybody who right now was spending money buying flowers and sending them to SF city hall, instead sent that money to local organizations that fight police brutality? A



fight against police brutality is one that directly serves queer and trans people who are of color, are poor, or are homeless people; it directly serves the sex workers, immigrants and youth within our communities.

Queer and transgender movements that seek real liberation and freedom for everyone might turn out to be movements that don't look like what we call "gay rights" movements. Despite whatever benefits might accrue to some people, broad economic justice will not be served by re-enforcing the government's power to determine what families or sexual relationships are legitimate and hence deserve access to social and economic resources.



"Now your own cum," he said.

"Oh, geez, please," I said.

"You made the mess," said Bay.

"Giddyap," said Barnaby, "so hard, while he guided me over the geez, I was sorry I'd come to a big pool in the area near where there was come for ten feet across."

"Giddvap," said Barnaby.

"I'm going as fast as I can," I said, "going there like a dog."

"Faster, Horsie," said the boy.

He whipped me hard, not to hurt me, where I leaned over, and as fast as I could so I wouldn't fall. Then I just went along that is, I put my mouth, and cursing, and a pint and my tongue was out, but I didn't care, and every now and then sucking up cum, Barnabé was on my bottom, and I'd wiggle then I'd wiggle, and he'd wiggle as so

"I ate it all. I cleaned up the mess," I said.

"Not all of it," he said.

